/993 cont./

627 of the 16 canoes, having landed, lost no time in meeting the people here. All on both sides, men and women, were armed with sticks, spears or paddles and all who were connected with Hatuswaianges or Couiluj indicated the same by the paint on their faces. They hastened on and Meacol presented himself as the chief object of their revenge, being the nephew on his mother's side of the manslayer... There was much shouting and rushing about, great noise and confusion, much threatening and fierceness of manner, but very few blows. Meacol, after the affair was over, was obliged to lay down the principal of his possessions to further appease the angry feelings of the dead boy's relatives... July 11th. Went to seek Couiluj who has been hurt by a cousin of the boy Hatuswaianges of whose death he was the cause. His head is much hurt and he received several blows about the body" /cited in English/.

578 The fight between two men sometimes starts in a flash and is usually over after a few minutes. In the case of particularly angry opponents who are a match in strength it sometimes lasts longer, and now and then others are also embroiled, for anyone who sees his relative or friend fighting an opponent immediately comes to his aid. Thus, from a single fight a disorderly scuffle of two groups developes, and in the end even the women join in. A fight between individuals is the most common, however. The two seize each other by the throat, wrestle, scratch each other's faces, use their fists indiscriminately, grasp the head of their opponent in an effort to break his neck, and spend their strength. The individuals on the periphery of the entanglement attach themselves to the convulsively locked pair or seize stones and sticks which they hurl with great force. Even the wildest brawls of this kind die down after a few minutes. Panting and groaning, the excited opponents withdraw and creep into their huts where they sink down exhausted and thereafter do not even mention the fight again. This is precisely the course of most of the fights. Of course if people notice that the two
579 opponents are becoming excited and show signs of preparing for a scuffle, they try to calm them with amicable words, hide their weapons, and forcibly keep them apart, but such mediation is not always possible. The situation is actually just as Bridges (VSA:XI, 260; 1864) has described it: "A single combat often ends in two whole families fighting together, when they try not to kill, but

/993 cont./

•579 to merely subdue" /cited in English/. In the same vein Hyades (q):374 adds: "All weapons are then good for the fight: fists, stones, sticks, slings, harpoons, arrows" /translated from French/.

As an example here is an account of a fight reported by Bridges (MM:XIII, 153; 1879) on March 7, 1879, which arose from unhappy marital conditions: "One day, a certain man named Richard Ahmooshmeenan, who has taken Joe's sister to wife, and through her and his own evil passions brought himself /994/ into much turmoil, went down to Jeminaze wigwam to fetch his eloped wife. He went in a very threatening manner, with spear in hand, into a hornet's nest. The ill-will of her relatives had often been stirred up by his violence to her, and now seeing him come among them in this threatening manner, their evil passions overflowed all bounds and a savage assault was made. Richard's friends came to his aid, and a scene of universal broil and violence was the result. It occurred during the dinner hour. As usual I rang the bell for work, but no workmen appearing, I rang a second time; still none came. At last Samuel came up to tell me all the people were in a great uproar, and had hurt each other very much" /cited in English/.

Such brawls -- there is no other name for these quarrels -- are neither premeditated nor carried out according to a specific pattern (415). It would be inaccurate to speak of actual battles;

> 415. "When they fight, it is generally an affray of words, stones, spears, and clubs, with many on both sides" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (a):207. This missionary has a number of times expressed himself in these words, and he is quite right.

"among the Yahgans there are never expeditions of war" /translated from French/, according to Hyades (q):374.

627 These public brawls and noisy scuffles are clearly distinct from the particular hostilities which I should like to characterize as consciously premeditated acts of revenge, with which someone will settle an injustice from far in the past. It is either despondency and cowardice or the knowledge of his opponent's superior strength